

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 121579  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EA-12 /025 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:EUR/RPM:TMSAVAGE  
APPROVED BY:EUR/RPM:BWCLARK  
EA/RA:FBENNETT

-----085850 121936Z /75

R 121724Z MAY 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS STATE 121579

FOLLOWING REPEAT CINCPAC HONOLULU DTG 102230Z MAY 78  
TO USICA WASH BANGKOK CANBERRA HONG KONG JAKARTA KUALA LUMPUR  
MANILA PEKING PORT MORESBY RANGOON SEOUL SINGAPORE SUVA TAIPEI  
TOKYO WELLINGTON SECSTATE VICE PRESIDENT USA WASH DC  
CINCPAC REP CANBERRA CINCPAC REP GUAM  
STARS AND STRIPES PACIFIC TOKYO CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR  
CINCPACAF HICKAM AFB HI FT SHAFTER HI CG FMFEAC  
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JA  
COMUSTDC TAIPEI TW CINCPAC REP PHILIPPINES SUBIC BAY RP

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP(MONDALE, WALTER F.)  
SUBJECT: MONDALE'S EAST-WEST CENTER SPEECH 10 MAY 78

### QUOTE

MONDALE'S EAST-WEST CENTER SPEECH, 10 MAY 78

CHANCELLOR KLEINJANS AND DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, I AM DELIGHTED  
TO BE WITH YOU TODAY AT THIS DISTINGUISHED CENTER OF LEARNING. THE  
EAST-WEST CENTER EMBODIES THE BASIC PURPOSE OF THE MISSION I HAVE  
JUST COMPLETED: THE PROMOTION OF BETTER RELATIONS AND UNDERSTAND-  
ING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATIONS OF ASIA AND THE  
PACIFIC.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 121579

I AM ALSO PLEASED TO RETURN TO HAWAII--A STATE WHICH REMINDS US  
MORE POWERFULLY THAN ANY OTHER THAT WE ARE A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS,  
BLESSED AS A RESULT WITH CONSTANT INFUSIONS OF NEW ENERGY AND NEW  
BLOOD. AND HAWAII REMINDS US THAT WHEN THEODORE ROOSEVELT SPOKE  
OF THE "OCEAN OF DESTINY" HE WAS SPEAKING OF THE PACIFIC.

MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND,  
INDONESIA, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, WERE HELD AT THE REQUEST OF  
PRESIDENT CARTER, TO HELP DEFINE CLEARLY AMERICA'S ROLE IN  
THE REGION. I WANT TO REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THIS  
MISSION AND ON THE NEW ROLE FOR OUR NATION IN THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY.

FOR NEARLY A DECADE, OUR INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA TOUCHED NOT ONLY EVERY CORNER OF THE REGION, BUT ULTIMATELY EVERY FAMILY IN AMERICA. WHEN THAT ERA ENDED THREE YEARS AGO, MANY AMERICANS UNDERSTANDABLY WANTED TO TURN THEIR ATTENTION AWAY FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA. OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION DECLINED. AID LEVELS DROPPED. AND FOR SEVERAL YEARS HIGH-LEVEL AMERICAN VISITORS WERE FEW. THESE DEVELOPMENTS INDUCED DEEP CONCERN THAT THE U.S. WOULD ABANDON THE AREA.

ALL THE NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF THE REGION WANT AMERICA TO MAINTAIN A VISIBLE PRESENCE. THEY VALUE OUR SECURITY ROLE AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. NAVAL AND AIR FORCES. THEY WANT STRONGER ECONOMIC TIES WITH US, AND WELCOME AN ACTIVE AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

THE PROBLEM THAT CHALLENGED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS TO FASHION A POLICY TOWARD SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT ADVANCED AMERICAN INTERESTS IN A SETTING OF RAPIDLY CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. WE MUST DEFINE A SUSTAINABLE LEVEL OF AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE REGION, ONE THAT ACCOMMODATES LOCAL CONCERNS; ONE THAT IS LESS COLORED BY PAST TRAUMAS. AND OUR NEW ROLE REQUIRES EMPHASIS ON AMERICA'S NEW FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS--SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARMS TRANSFER RESTRAINTS. THIS IS NOT AN EASY TASK. BUT WE BELIEVE WE HAVE BEGUN.

AMERICA'S STAKE IN THE PACIFIC

IN EACH CAPITAL I VISITED--I REAFFIRMED ONE CENTRAL PROPOSITION:  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 121579

AMERICA IS UNALTERABLY A PACIFIC POWER. THIS IS A NATURAL CONDITION OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY, AS WELL AS A CONSCIOUS CHOICE. THE STATE OF HAWAII AND VARIOUS AMERICAN TERRITORIES ARE LOCATED IN THE PACIFIC. AMERICA HAS EXTENSIVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS IN ASIA. OUR TIES WITH ASIAN NATIONS ARE CENTRAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR GLOBAL POLICY.

OUR KEY ASIAN ALLIANCES CONTRIBUTE TO REGIONAL STABILITY AND A FAVORABLE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER. WE WILL PRESERVE THEM.

-- THE FREEDOM OF THE SEA LANES IN THE PACIFIC ARE VITAL TO THE SECURITY AND WELL BEING OF THE U.S. AND ALL MARITIME POWERS. WE WILL PROTECT THEM.

-- OUR TRADE WITH THE PACIFIC BASIN NATIONS--WHICH IS LARGER AND GROWING FASTER THAN WITH ANY OTHER REGION--IS CRUCIAL TO THE HEALTH OF OUR OWN ECONOMY. WE WILL EXPAND IT.

--OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONTRIBUTES TO A STABLE BALANCE IN THE PACIFIC. WE WILL STRIVE TO DEEPEN IT.

-- OUR LIVES, OUR ART, OUR SCIENCES ARE ENRICHED THROUGH CULTURAL EXCHANGES OF PEOPLES AND IDEAS ACROSS THE PACIFIC. WE WILL STRENGTHEN THEM.

WE WILL NOT CLING TO PAST PATTERNS OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE PACIFIC. WE WILL SHAPE OUR FUTURE INVOLVEMENT TO ASSURE A BALANCE BETWEEN PRESERVING SECURITY AND PROMOTING CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE; BETWEEN GOVERNMENT ACTIONS AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. WE WILL MEET NECESSITIES OF POWER AND FULFILL THE CLAIMS OF PRINCIPLE.

THE CURRENT SETTING

I SAW A VASTLY DIFFERENT SOUTHEAST ASIA WHEN I LAST VISITED THE

REGION IN 1966. FOR MANY AMERICANS, AT THAT TIME, SOUTHEAST ASIA MEANT VIOLENCE, INSTABILITY AND CORRUPTION.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT TORE SOUTHEAST ASIA APART. THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK WAS UNCERTAIN. REGIONAL COOPERATION WAS A MERE ASPIRATION. CHINA INSPIRED FEAR IN ITS NEIGHBORS. JAPAN PURSUED A DIPLOMACY DOMINATED BY COMMERCIAL INTERESTS. MOST OF THE SMALL NONCOMMUNIST STATES IN THE REGION WERE DEEPLY DEPENDENT ON US, AND THE VERY SIZE OF OUR PRESENCE INVITED EXCESSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 121579

BUT WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN THE PAST TEN DAYS REVEALS DRAMATICALLY HOW FAR SOUTHEAST ASIA--AND WE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--HAVE TRAVELLED IN A FEW SHORT YEARS. THE UNITED STATES IS AT PEACE IN ASIA, AND THE REGION IS RELATIVELY TRANQUIL. OLD IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES HAVE LOST THEIR FORCE; NATIONALISM HAS TRIUMPHED OVER ALL COMPETING IDEOLOGIES; AND THE MOST INTENSE REGIONAL RIVALRIES NOW PIT COMMUNIST NATIONS AGAINST EACH OTHER.

THE PACIFIC BASIN HAS BECOME THE MOST DYNAMIC ECONOMIC ZONE IN THE WORLD. ITS PROSPERITY IS SHARED BY ALL EXCEPT THOSE NATIONS THAT HAVE REJECTED THE MARKET SYSTEM. THE ERA OF GREAT POWER DOMINION HAS GIVEN WAY TO A MORE MATURE AND EQUITABLE PARTNERSHIP. REGIONAL COOPERATION IS NO LONGER A SLOGAN; ASEAN HAS MOVED INTO A PERIOD OF SUBSTANTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT. ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE NOW THE PRIME CONCERNS OF MOST GOVERNMENTS IN THE AREA.

JAPAN'S ECONOMY CONTINUES TO PROVIDE AN ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE PACIFIC BASIN, AND THE JAPANESE ARE DEFINING A WIDER VISION OF THEIR POLITICAL ROLE IN THE REGION.

THROUGH THE EXPANSION OF THEIR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, THEIR SUPPORT FOR ASEAN, AND THEIR EFFORTS TO DISCOURAGE THE EMERGENCE OF ANTAGONISTIC BLOCS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

CHINA HAS BECOME AN INCREASINGLY CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE IN THE REGION AND IS PURSUING POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WHICH IN SOME RESPECTS PARALLEL OUR OWN.

THESE ARE HOPEFUL TRENDS. THEY OFFER THE PROSPECT OF NEW AND PROMISING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE NATIONS OF THE PACIFIC. THEY ENCOURAGE ME TO BELIEVE WE CAN COMBINE OUR TRADITIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT SECURITY WITH AN IMAGINATIVE RESPONSE TO A NEW AGENDA--ASSURING ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLIES FOR ASIA'S GROWING POPULATION; SOLVING TRADE AND COMMODITY PROBLEMS, DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY; PROMOTING PATTERNS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION AND RECONCILIATION, AND PROMOTING THE WIDER OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SECURITY DIMENSION

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 121579

ALL THESE OBJECTIVES REQUIRE THAT AMERICA REMAIN STRONG IN THE PACIFIC. IF WE DO SO, OUR SECURITY EVERYWHERE WILL BE ENHANCED. IF WE DO NOT, THE CONSEQUENCES WILL NOT BE CONFINED TO ASIA ALONE.

YET THE NATURE OF OUR SECURITY ROLE IS CHANGING. OUR WILLING-

NESS TO MAINTAIN A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE MUST BE BALANCED BY THE GROWING SELF-RELIANCE OF OUR FRIENDS.

OUR SECURITY CONCERNS ARE SHARPEST IN NORTHEAST ASIA, WHERE THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE MAJOR POWERS DIRECTLY INTERSECT. BUT WE CANNOT DRAW A LINE ACROSS THE PACIFIC, AND ASSUME THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WILL NOT AFFECT JAPAN AND KOREA. MOREOVER, THE AREA IS OF GREAT INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE:

-- IT IS RICH IN RESOURCES AND OFFERS THE UNITED STATES A LARGE AND GROWING MARKET.

-- IT SITS ASTRIDE SEA LANES THROUGH WHICH MIDDLE EAST OIL FLOWS TO JAPAN AND TO OUR OWN WEST COAST.

-- ACCESS TO PHILIPPINE BASES ENHANCES OUR STRATEGIC FLEXIBILITY, AND OUR ANZUS TIES CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY OF THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC.

-- THE FRIENDS AND ALLIES WE HAVE IN THE AREA STRENGTHEN OUR GLOBAL POSITIONS; THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND WELL BEING REMAIN IMPORTANT TO US.

PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANT OF ALL ARE THE HUMAN TIES: TIES OF KINSHIP, OF COMRADESHIP AND SACRIFICE IN WAR, OF SHARED DREAMS FOR PEACE.

FORTUNATELY, SOUTHEAST ASIA IS NO LONGER A THEATER OF LARGE-SCALE ARMED STRUGGLE. BUT OUR FRIENDS THERE CONTINUE TO HAVE SERIOUS AND LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS. MANY STATES IN THE REGION REMAIN PLAGUED BY INTERNAL CONFLICTS. VIETNAMESE AMBITIONS IN THE AREA REMAIN UNCLEAR. ARMED CLASHES BETWEEN COMMUNIST STATES AND AND SINO-SOVIET COMPETITION GENERATE GROWING PRESSURES AND UNCERTAINTIES.

THE NONCOMMUNIST NATIONS CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES FOR HELP. THEY DO NOT SEEK OUR DIRECT MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, WHICH THEY CONSIDER NEITHER DESIRABLE NOR NECESSARY.

BUT THEY DO WANT US TO SUSTAIN A MILITARY PRESENCE TO SERVE AS A DETERRENT AND A SOURCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL REASSURANCE. THEY WANT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 121579

US TO BE A RELIABLE SOURCE OF ESSENTIAL DEFENSE EQUIPMENT, THUS AVOIDING THE NEED TO ESTABLISH WASTEFUL AND INEFFICIENT LOCAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES. THEY WANT DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO THE RIVALRIES OF OTHER GREAT POWERS.

THESE DESIRES ARE REASONABLE AND CONSISTENT WITH OUR INTERESTS. I AFFIRMED AT EACH STOP OUR INTENT TO MAINTAIN AMERICA'S MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND PRESERVE A BALANCED AND FLEXIBLE MILITARY POSTURE IN THE PACIFIC. OUR FRIENDS WANT THIS; OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES EXPECT IT; OUR INTERESTS REQUIRE IT.

-- IN THE PHILIPPINES I DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS AMENDMENTS TO OUR EXISTING MILITARY BASE AGREEMENT WHICH CAN STABILIZE OUR CONTINUING USE OF THESE KEY MILITARY FACILITIES ON TERMS THAT FULLY RESPECT PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE BASES.

-- IN INDONESIA AND THAILAND I EMPHASIZED OUR INTENT TO REMAIN A RELIABLE SUPPLIER OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT EVEN AS WE ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE GREATER RESTRAINT IN THE FIELD OF ARMS TRANSFERS. I CONFIRMED OUR WILLINGNESS TO DELIVER F-5 AIRCRAFT TO THAILAND AND

A-4 AIRCRAFT TO INDONESIA. THESE SYSTEMS PERMIT OUR FRIENDS TO ENHANCE THEIR SELF-RELIANCE WITHOUT THREATENING THEIR NEIGHBORS.

-- IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND I REAFFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT TO ANZUS AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT ANY INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATIONS ARRANGEMENTS WE MAY NEGOTIATE WITH THE SOVIETS WILL NOT IMPAIR OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT THESE COMMITMENTS--AS EVIDENCED BY OUR DECISION TO HOLD JOINT NAVAL EXERCISES OFF THE WEST COAST OF AUSTRALIA.

-- TO THOSE WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH PUTTING THE VIETNAM WAR BEHIND US, I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAVE MADE A FAIR OFFER TO THE VIETNAMESE--THAT WE ARE READY TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. BUT HANOI IS STILL DEMANDING A PRIOR COMMITMENT OF AMERICAN AID, SOMETHING THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT.

-- TO ALL THOSE WITH WHOM I SPOKE, I REPEATED OUR DETERMINATION NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 121579

WE THREATEN NO NATION. BUT WE SHALL EXPRESS IN A TANGIBLE WAY OUR RESOLVE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF THE AREA.

ADDRESSING THE NEW AGENDA

ALL OF THE ASIAN LEADERS WITH WHOM I MET EMPHASIZED THAT NATIONAL RESILIENCE, ECONOMIC GROWTH, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND REGIONAL COOPERATION -- RATHER THAN MILITARY STRENGTH ALONE -- PROVIDE THE ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION FOR SECURITY. I CONVEYED PRESIDENT CARTER'S DESIRE TO SUPPORT THEIR EFFORTS TO HELP THEMSELVES -- PARTICULARLY IN DEVELOPING THEIR ECONOMIC POTENTIAL.

AS IN THE SECURITY FIELD, OUR ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IS UNDERGOING RAPID CHANGE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERSTATE AMERICA'S ECONOMIC STAKE IN THE PACIFIC. TWO WAY TRADE WITH THE EAST ASIAN PACIFIC NATIONS REACHED \$61 BILLION LAST YEAR. OUR INVESTMENTS IN THE PACIFIC NOW EXCEED \$16 BILLION, AND YIELD HIGH RETURNS. 40 PERCENT OF OUR IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS COME FROM THE PACIFIC. AND THE REGION OFFERS A RICH SOURCE OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS.

OUR TRADE AND INVESTMENT WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA HAVE MATURED. WE BUY MORE THAN WE SELL; OUR PRIVATE CAPITAL TRANSFERS EXCEED OUR AID; AND OUR IMPORTS INCLUDE A GROWING PROPORTION OF MANUFACTURED GOODS RATHER THAN RAW MATERIALS.

THE CONCERNS I ENCOUNTERED FOCUSED LESS ON AID THAN ON BUSINESS; OUR REGULATORY PROCESSES, OUR INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND THE FEAR OF POSSIBLE PROTECTIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES. CONVERSELY, THE ISSUES I RAISED DEALT WITH THE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER TO INCREASE SOUTHEAST ASIAN FOOD PRODUCTIVITY, DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SUPPLIES, EXPAND TRADE AND PROMOTE MORE EQUITABLE GROWTH.

IN THE FUTURE THE FOLLOWING TASKS MUST CLAIM OUR PRIORITY ATTENTION:

FIRST, WE MUST ASSURE THE CONTINUED EXPANSION OF OUR TRADE WITH THE PACIFIC NATIONS -- AND OTHERS -- THROUGH THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. AGRICULTURE IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THIS NEGOTIATION. ALL OF US WILL BENEFIT IF TARIFF AND NONTARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE ARE REDUCED; ALL OF US WILL SUFFER IF THE NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. THE TIME TO MAKE PROGRESS IS THIS YEAR. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD A GENEROUS OFFER IN GENEVA: WE

EXPECT OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- LIKE JAPAN AND THE EUROPEAN  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 121579

COMMUNITY -- TO MATCH IT.

SECONDLY, WE MUST HELP THE ASIAN NATIONS OVERCOME DEFICIENCIES IN THEIR FOOD PRODUCTION. THE PACIFIC BASIN HAS SPECIAL ASSETS FOR DEALING WITH THIS ISSUE. THE THREE LARGEST GRAIN EXPORTERS IN THE WORLD -- THE U.S., CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA -- BORDERS ON THE PACIFIC. SO, TOO, DO SEVERAL OF THE LARGEST GRAIN IMPORTERS -- ESPECIALLY JAPAN AND INDONESIA. WHILE RAPID POPULATION GROWTH IS INCREASING FOOD REQUIREMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, ITS NATIONS ALSO HAVE CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL FOR EXPANDING PRODUCTIVITY, WHICH WE MUST ENCOURAGE.

I EMPHASIZED OUR DETERMINATION TO UNDERTAKE A COMPREHENSIVE ASSAULT ON THIS PROBLEM BY:

- EXPANDING OUR LONG TERM PL 480 AND OTHER FORMS OF AID TO FOOD-DEFICIT COUNTRIES LIKE INDONESIA IF THEY WILL TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY.

- OFFERING THE USE OF LANDSAT SATELLITES TO HELP ASSESS REGIONAL ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS.

- BY FOCUSING OUR BILATERAL AID IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND BY

- IMPROVING INTERNATIONAL FOOD SECURITY BY HELPING TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF NATIONALLY-HELD FOOD RESERVES TO MEET FOOD SHORTAGES.

NEXT, WE MUST PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATE SOURCES OF ENERGY. SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES -- APART FROM INDONESIA -- HAVE ONLY MODEST OIL RESERVES, BUT THEY POSSESS ABUNDANT SUPPLIES OF NATURAL GAS, COAL, URANIUM AND GEOTHERMAL RESOURCES. THEIR RAPID DEVELOPMENT WILL ENHANCE OUR ENERGY SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR FRIENDS WHILE SLOWING THE UPWARD PRESSURE ON OIL PRICES. WE MUST FIND NEW WAYS TO USE OUR TECHNOLOGY TO ASSIST LOCAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS ENERGY RESOURCES.

IN THE COURSE OF MY TRIP I OFFERED TO SEND TECHNICAL TEAMS FROM OUR DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY TO HELP ASSESS REGIONAL ENERGY RESOURCES,  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 121579

STRENGTHEN ENERGY PLANNING, AND IDENTIFY NEW AREAS FOR COLLABORATION. I MADE CLEAR OUR INTEREST IN EXPANDING COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONVENTIONAL AND NONCONVENTIONAL FUELS. IT IS A LEARNING PROCESS THAT GOES BOTH WAYS. WE CAN LEARN MUCH FROM NATIONS SUCH AS NEW ZEALAND, WHICH HAVE HAD LONG PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH GEOTHERMAL ENERGY PRODUCTION.

- I RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THE IDEA OF A FORMAL CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM TO FACILITATE DEEPER ENERGY COOPERATION WITH ASEAN.

- I EMPHASIZED THAT THE AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR REMAINS THE MOST SKILLFUL IN THE WORLD AT DEVELOPING NEW SOURCES OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS.

NEXT, WE MUST PRESERVE ASIA'S ACCESS TO CAPITAL ON FAVORABLE

TERMS. OUR BILATERAL PROGRAMS REMAIN CRUCIAL TO THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND AND INDONESIA AS EACH TRIES TO DEAL WITH THE STAGGERING PROBLEM OF RURAL POVERTY, HUNGER AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

THESE DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES REFLECT THE NEW DIRECTIONS IN OUR OWN AID PROGRAM. WE SHALL WORK WITH OTHER DONORS AND RECIPIENTS TO SEE THAT THESE OBJECTIVES ARE MET.

MEANWHILE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE OUR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND FUND. DURING MY VISIT TO THE BANK HEADQUARTERS IN MANILA, I CONFIRMED PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECISION TO CONTRIBUTE \$445 MILLION TO THE 1979-1982 REPLENISHMENT PROGRAM. THIS WILL HELP ASSURE FINANCING FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN THE REGION.

NEXT, WE SHALL ENCOURAGE THE INCREASINGLY INFLUENTIAL ROLE OF THE U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR IN PROMOTING ASIAN DEVELOPMENT FOR OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT. WHEN I MET IN JAKARTA WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OF AMERICAN BUSINESS IN ASIA, MY MESSAGE WAS SIMPLE: WE WANT OUR BUSINESS COMMUNITY ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE PACIFIC; WE WANT ITS ROLE TO GROW AND OUR COMPANIES TO PROSPER. THE ADMINISTRATION IS DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY FOR INCREASING AMERICAN EXPORTS. WE WILL GIVE PRIORITY TO REFORMING OR ELIMINATING GOVERNMENTAL PRACTICES THAT UNDERCUT AMERICA'S COMPETITIVE POSTURE IN ASIA.

NEXT, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE THE COHESION OF ASEAN--THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS. ONE OF THE MOST ENCOURAG-  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 121579

ING DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS THE EMERGENCE OF THE ASEAN REGIONAL GROUP. THIS ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS IS DEVELOPING GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ACQUIRING THE HABIT OF CONSULTING CLOSELY ON POLITICAL ISSUES.

WE HAVE LONG ENJOYED CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF ASEAN. WE NOW SEEK STRONGER TIES WITH THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF. IN ALL OF MY TALKS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIAN LEADERS, I EMPHASIZED OUR WILLINGNESS TO HOST US-ASEAN CONSULTATION AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL IN WASHINGTON LATER THIS YEAR.

IT IS UP TO ASEAN'S LEADERS TO DEFINE THE FUTURE PATTERNS OF THEIR COOPERATION. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE READY TO SUPPORT THEIR INITIATIVES.

HUMAN RIGHTS

IN ADDITION TO MAINTAINING SECURITY AND STRENGTHENING OUR ECONOMIC TIES, OUR NEW ROLE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC REQUIRES THE AFFIRMATION OF THE BASIC VALUES FOR WHICH OUR NATION STANDS. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES A CLEAR CUT PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS."

IF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO BE CREDIBLE, ENDURING AND EFFECTIVE, IT MUST BE BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE RIGHT TO LIVE WITHOUT FEAR OF CRUEL AND DEGRADING TREATMENT; TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT; TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL JUSTICE; AND TO SEEK PEACEFUL CHANGE. WE CAN TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN OUR

MILITARY STRENGTH AND OUR ECONOMIC PROWESS, BUT THE GREATEST SOURCE OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IS THE POWER OF OUR EXAMPLE.

THE PROMOTION OF WIDER OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THERE IS NO MORE PROFOUND TEST OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS THAN THE WAY IN WHICH WE RESPOND TO THE RAPIDLY INCREASING FLOW OF INDOCHINESE REFUGEES WHO DESERVE OUR ADMIRATION

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 121579

FOR THEIR COURAGE AND OUR SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT. MY TRIP HAS CONVINCED ME THAT WE AND OTHERS HAVE UNDERESTIMATED THE MAGNITUDE OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THE FLOW OF REFUGEES IS RAPIDLY INCREASING. VIETNAM'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS ARE HARD-PRESSED TO HANDLE THE GROWING NUMBERS OF "BOAT CASES" AS WELL AS LARGE NUMBERS OF LAND REFUGEES, AND THE BURDEN OF COPING WITH THESE INCREASED NUMBERS FALLS DISPROPORTIONATELY UPON THAILAND.

NO SINGLE COUNTRY CAN MANAGE THIS PROBLEM ALONE. GIVEN OUR LEGACY OF INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, WE BEAR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET THEM.

OUR COUNTRY MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN DEVELOPING A BROADER INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO HANDLE THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. I INFORMED SOUTHEAST ASIAN LEADERS THAT THE U.S. WILL EXERCISE PAROLE AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT AN ADDITIONAL 25,000 REFUGEES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA ANNUALLY. WE WILL EXPEDITE THE PROCESSING OF REFUGEES DESTINED FOR THE U.S. BY STATIONING ADDITIONAL IMMIGRATION PERSONNEL IN BANGKOK.

I EXTENDED TO THAI AUTHORITIES AN OFFER OF UP TO TWO MILLION DOLLARS TO SUPPORT THEIR DEVELOPMENT OF LONGER-TERM PLANS FOR HANDLING THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES. AND I MADE CLEAR THAT ONCE SUCH PLANS ARE DEVELOPED, WE WILL BE PREPARED TO OFFER MORE SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE, IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS, TO FINANCE THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN THAILAND AND ELSEWHERE. IN SHORT, WE SHALL DO OUR PART TO FIND PERMANENT HOMES FOR THESE TRAGIC REFUGEES; WE WILL URGE OTHERS TO DO THEIRS.

THERE IS NO HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ASIA, OR INDEED THE WORLD, WHICH CRIES OUT FOR MORE ATTENTION THAN THE TRAGEDY STILL CONTINUING IN CAMBODIA. WE HAVE LITTLE LEVERAGE WITH WHICH TO AFFECT THE HARSH, BRUTAL, REPRESSIVE NATURE OF THE REGIME IN CAMBODIA, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO FOCUS THE WORLD'S ATTENTION ON THE HORROR OF WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE.

SOME CRITICS SUGGEST THAT THE PRESERVATION OF SECURITY AND THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE OBJECTIVES, BUT, THEY ARE NOT. ONLY IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF SECURITY CAN HUMAN RIGHTS GENUINELY FLOURISH. YET, NO GOVERNMENT WHICH FAILS TO RESPOND TO THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE OR WHICH CLOSES OFF ALL CHANNELS OF DISSENT CAN ACHIEVE THAT SECURITY WHICH IS DERIVED FROM THE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 121579

CONSENT OF FREE CITIZENS.

THE SECURITY WE SEEK IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, AND IT CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM THE QUESTION FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE. THIS



POSES FOR US A DIPLOMATIC CHALLENGE OF EXTRAORDINARY DELICACY, FOR WE MUST PURSUE BOTH OUR INTERESTS AND OUR IDEALS; WE MUST AVOID BOTH CYNICISM AND SENTIMENTALISM; WE MUST SHUN BOTH CALLOUS INDIFFERENCE TO SUFFERING AND ARROGANT INTRUSION INTO OTHERS' INTERNAL AFFAIRS. AND IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED:

-- WE MUST CONCERN OURSELVES WITH ACHIEVING RESULTS RATHER THAN CLAIMING CREDIT;

-- WE MUST COMBINE FRANKNESS IN OUR PRIVATE DIPLOMACY WITH FOREBEARANCE IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS;

-- WE MUST REMEMBER THAT OUR EXAMPLE IS OUR MOST POTENT WEAPON.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN STRIKE THE RIGHT CHORD. DURING EACH OF MY STOPS, I WAS ABLE TO SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS WHILE ENHANCING COOPERATION ON SECURITY AND OTHER MATTERS. I BELIEVE WE CAN DEVELOP RELATIONSHIPS OF CONFIDENCE WITH THE LEADERS OF THESE NATIONS WITHOUT FORFEITING THE OPPORTUNITY TO LISTEN TO A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL OPINIONS. AND IN SEVERAL KEY STOPS I MET WITH PRIVATE CITIZENS TO HEAR A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT. I HOPE PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA, ACTING ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE, IS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING SPEEDING UP THE PHASED RELEASE OF THE 10,000 PRISONERS SCHEDULED TO BE FREED BY THE END OF THE YEAR. ONLY TIME WILL TELL WHETHER OUR EFFORTS WILL YIELD GENUINE AND ENDURING RESULTS. BUT UNLESS WE ASSERT OUR BELIEFS, WE CAN NEITHER EXPECT THE SUPPORT OF OUR OWN PEOPLE NOR RESPOND TO THE YEARNINGS OF OTHERS.

AS ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH ONCE WROTE, "THERE ARE THOSE WHO WILL SAY THAT THE LIBERATION OF HUMANITY, THE FREEDOM OF MAN AND MIND IS NOTHING BUT A DREAM. THEY ARE RIGHT. IT IS. IT IS THE AMERICAN DREAM."

CONCLUSION

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 121579

THE PACIFIC BASIN, I AM CONVINCED, HAS BEGUN AN UNPRECEDENTED AND EXCITING ERA OF CHANGE AND GROWTH. THE FUTURE PROMISES RAPID ECONOMIC ADVANCE AND RELATIVE POLITICAL STABILITY, NATIONALISM ACCOMPANIED BY REGIONAL COOPERATION, SECURITY WITHOUT HUGE DEFENSE BUDGETS, EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY COMBINED WITH A GROWING RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

THAT IS WHAT IS POSSIBLE, BUT THIS FUTURE IS NOT ASSURED. WHAT HAPPENS WILL HINGE ON THE WISDOM, VISION AND DETERMINATION OF THE ASIAN-PACIFIC COUNTRIES THEMSELVES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. OUR ROLE IS CRUCIAL. OUR CONTINUING POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IS INDISPENSABLE AND IN OUR INTEREST. IT MUST CONTINUE TO ADAPT TO CHANGING REALITIES. BUT IT IS NOT A BURDEN TO BE BORNE, IT IS A CHALLENGE THAT WE WELCOME. UNQUOTE VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SPEECHES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE121579  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:**  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780202-1093  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197805112/baaaeyqg.tel  
**Line Count:** 483  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** ff783895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 9  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 mar 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** N/A  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2539930  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MONDALE'S EAST-WEST CENTER SPEECH 10 MAY 78  
**TAGS:** SOPN, OVIP, (MONDALE, WALTER F)  
**To:** USNATO  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/ff783895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014